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ABSTRACT

This document is the culmination of a year of cooperative effort between the Michigan Education Association's Human Relations Division and the Human Relations Section of the National Education Association Teacher Rights. These two groups spent the 1971-72 school year working together, with invaluable assistance from New Perspectives on Race, Inc. to develop a program that addresses itself to institutional racism, the most crucial issue confronting the American education system. The contents are organized in two parts. Part I, "Racism and its manifestations in education," includes discussions of such topics as prejudice, racism, racist behaviors to be avoided, and becoming "antiracist/racists." Part II, "Antiracism activities," includes discussions of a curriculum on racism, and a workshop design for racism. The latter is described in some detail. The design for a different kind of racism workshop for teachers was developed cooperatively with the Michigan Education Association's Office of Human Relations, N.E.A. Teacher Rights, and New Perspectives on Race. Appendix A includes racial checklists and inventories, while appendix B comprises group dynamics tools. (Author/JM)

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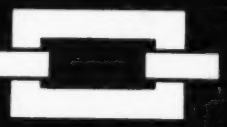
Education & Racism

An Action Manual



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Education & Racism

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FOREWORD

The document you are about to read is the culmination of a year of cooperative effort between the Michigan Education Association's Human Relations Division and the Human Relations Section of NEA Teacher Rights. These two groups spent the 1971-72 school year working together, with invaluable assistance from New Perspectives on Race, Inc. (NPR), to develop a program that addresses itself to institutional racism, the most crucial issue confronting the American education system. We anticipate that this document will provide information, program ideas, and encouragement to state and local associations attempting to meet the challenge of coping positively with the issues of institutional racism and equal educational opportunity.

Our sincerest thanks to Dr. Gloria Fauth for the final draft. Her understanding of the goals of this publication and her sensitivity to the issues of racism are clearly reflected in her writing. We thank Terry Herndon, executive secretary, Dr. Arthur Rice, Jr., and Herman Coleman, associate executive secretaries, Michigan Education Association, as well as George Jones and Dr. Shirley McCune, Human Relations Section, NEA Teacher Rights, whose collective support has been invaluable to the success of the program and to the development of this publication. We also thank Dick Weber and Dr. Pat Bidol of New Perspectives on Race, Inc., Howard Belton and Fred Husmann of the NEA staff, and Dr. Laura Heinrich and Maurice Prout for their assistance in planning the workshops and implementing the total program.

It is our challenge as educators, working through the united profession at the national, state, and local levels, to place ourselves in the vanguard of the attempt to resolve the manifestations of racism in our schools and to provide equal educational opportunities for all of America's children. This document is dedicated to those educators who wish to be no longer part of the problem, but rather part of the solution.

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PREFACE

"If you are not part of the solution, you must be part of the problem." White educators in the United States, to whom this report is addressed, are part of the problem. For too long we, as whites, have failed to explore what it means to be white in a white racist society. As long as we fail to examine our motives in the area of race relations, especially the implications of white privilege, the status quo of white racism will be maintained.

It is now time for each of us to recognize our own responsibility for the perpetuation of white racism, and to move forward from remaining part of the problem to becoming part of the solution. This report has three primary purposes. First, to provide a set of common understandings about racism and its origins and manifestations in our society. Second, to share two examples of how teacher organizations have successfully begun to deal with racism in educational settings (success being defined as having made a difference). Third, to suggest resources that will be useful to state and local associations in implementing antiracism programs.

PART I

Racism and Its Manifestations in Education

- What is racism?
- Why is it an issue about which educators should be concerned?

> *Our Nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal . . . .*
>
> *What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.*[1]

Little has changed since 1967, when the statement above was written. Racial tensions continue to affect our daily lives. Countless other studies and reports have done little to change the status quo. Efforts directed toward the eradication of racism have been by and large unsuccessful. Attempts to make change have been largely attempts to awaken the moral conscience of the nation. Laws guaranteeing justice for all have been passed and enforced but have failed to create a just society. Racism continues to kill.

What is racism? "Racism is racial prejudice (the belief that one's own race is superior to another race) combined with the power to enforce this bias throughout the institutions and culture of a society."[2] The major institutions of our society reinforce white racial prejudice because we whites control the decision-making and standard-setting processes of these institutions. Thus white-originated standards become normative, resulting in benefits for whites just because they are white and in the oppression of blacks and other Third World people because they are not white.

One of our major institutions is the public school. The schools (and we as educators) are supposed to transmit our beliefs about ourselves as a nation (the pluralistic, democratic, egalitarian ideology of our national self-concept) as well as the knowledge and skills necessary to survive, physically

and psychologically, in our society. But while we cherish an ideology of humaneness, the schools perpetuate inhumane standards and norms (racist IQ tests, tracking systems, textbooks, counseling practices, teacher expectations, etc.). This split between our ideals and our practices has led to a kind of "cultural schizophrenia" for white educators. The cost to us as whites has been our wholeness.

We have often espoused the desire to change—to eliminate racism, for example. We have, both individually and collectively through our professional organizations, deplored the existence of racist norms and standards. We have tried and failed and tried and failed again. Failure has been the rule rather than the exception and has left us frustrated and without hope.

> *Until our motivations in the area of race relations, especially the implications of white privilege, can be consciously examined, the status quo will be maintained. To eliminate racism from our society will require an examination and reorientation of our goals and priorities. Effective reorientation will require education concerning the nature, practices, and effects of racism. Whites will have to develop a new self-concept which will allow us to affirm ourselves without having to do so by oppressing Third World people.*[3]

If we are to work on the elimination of racism from our society it is advisable that we work from a commonly agreed-upon set of definitions. What follows is a set of meanings that provide one such common base and have proved accurate and helpful over several years.*

Prejudice

In order to understand the causes of racism, it is necessary to be able to distinguish between racism and prejudice. Prejudice, according to *Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary* (1967), is "injury or damage resulting from some judgment or action of another in disregard of one's rights; 2(a) preconceived judgment or opinion, (b) an instance of such judgment or opinion, (c) an irrational attitude of hostility directed against an individual, a group, a race, or their supposed characteristics." Perhaps the briefest definition of prejudice is the one suggested by the Rev. John LaFarge, S.J.: "Thinking ill of others without sufficient warrant."[4] This

*Much of the following material owes its development and presentation to Pat A. Bidol who uses these definitions in presenting a mini lecture during training programs for New Perspectives on Race.

contains the two essential elements of any definition of prejudice—it refers to unfounded judgment and to a feeling tone.

LaFarge's definition applies only to negative prejudice. Other definitions include the possibility of being prejudiced in favor of something: "A feeling, favorable or unfavorable, toward a person or thing, prior to, or not based on, actual experience."[5] But *racial* prejudice can be thought of as always being negative, because it in fact involves "thinking ill of others" and is an opinion based on insufficient data. Thinking ill of others should be understood to encompass feelings (dislike, scorn, fear, aversion), words, discriminating actions, and even violent attacks.

"Without sufficient warrant" also needs to be clarified. A judgment can be regarded as unwarranted whenever it lacks a basis in fact. It is, of course, very difficult to state how much data is required to justify a judgment.

> *A prejudiced person will almost certainly claim that he has sufficient warrant for his views. He will tell of bitter experiences he has had with refugees, Catholics, or Orientals. But, in most cases, it is evident that his facts are scanty and strained. He resorts to a selective sorting of his own few memories, mixes them up with hearsay, and overgeneralizes. No one can possibly know* all *refugees, Catholics, or Orientals. Hence any negative judgment of these groups* as a whole *is, strictly speaking, an instance of thinking ill without sufficient warrant.*[6]

It seems functionally impossible to draw a firm line between "sufficient" and "insufficient" data. We often form judgments on the basis of nebulous, even nonexistent, probabilities. We overcategorize ("blacks are lazy", "Jews are crafty"); from a thimbleful of fact we create a generalization as large as a bucket.

Not every overblown generalization is an instance of prejudice, however. Some are simply misconceptions. A youngster hears his grandfather repeatedly condemn "those lousy politicians down at City Hall" and hears from his father that politicians are not to be trusted. Later on he may discover his confusion, and his dislike of politicians may vanish. This example suggests a test we can use to distinguish between misconceptions and prejudice. If an individual can correct his erroneous judgments in the light of new data, he is not prejudiced. Prejudgments become prejudices only if they are not reversible when new data are made available.

A teacher may, for instance, form the favorable prejudgment that his class is the best in the school, basing his opinion on the fact that the students in his room this year are quiet and hardworking. But if he were to

gather sufficient data about all other classes in the school, he would probably have to admit that although he has a strong preference for it, his class is not really the best. He would thus change his prejudgment and not develop a prejudice.

Here is another example that hits many of us whites close to home. In the early 1960's liberal white activists in the civil rights movement were told that if they were really serious about civil rights they must not continue trying to save black communities but must face the necessity of going back into their own white communities and working with white folks, where the problem really was. Many liberal whites deserted the movement, suddenly exhibiting negative prejudice toward a movement they had formerly endorsed. Instead of changing their behavior when new data became available, they perceived the new data as constituting a false analysis and then used that as a rationale for leaving the movement. (Of course, no action is singly determined, and other motivations may have been operating as well.)

Racism

When the racial prejudice of the majority group in a society is reinforced by the culture and institutions of that society, then the prejudice becomes racism. According to the *Random House Dictionary of the English Language* (1967), racism is "(1) a belief that human races have distinctive characteristics that determine their respective cultures, usually involving the idea that one's own race is superior and has the right to rule others; (2) a policy enforcing such asserted rights; (3) a system of government and society based upon it."

In the United States at present, only whites can be racists, since whites dominate and control the institutions that create and enforce American cultural norms and values. This is not to say that blacks or other Third World* peoples could never be racists, that they do not have the capacity to hate, or to develop antiwhite norms and standards. To say so would be dehumanizing and racist. The point is that in the United States at this time, blacks and other Third World peoples do not have access to the power to

*The term **Third World** will be used frequently in this discussion. It needs to be defined, and its use justified. For many years the term **minority groups** was used, but this term now seems inaccurate and misleading. For while we whites are a majority in the United States, **we** are the minority in the world population. The root of the word **minority** also suggests a connotation of "one less than." After consultation with black and Chicano leaders, the author has decided to use the newer term, Third World. It has an appropriate historical connotation: the First World refers to European culture and all its economic satellites, including the U.S. The Second World refers to the U.S.S.R. and its economic satellites. The Third World refers to the rest of the world's people, all of whom have at one time or another been under the domination of the First World.

enforce any prejudices they may have, so they cannot, by definition, be racists. Racism equals racial prejudice plus power.

In our society it would be very difficult for any individual to be a racist all by himself. If everyone just had his own individual racial prejudices, which were never reinforced by the society, racism would not exist. But when those individual racial prejudices are reinforced by the culture, we then have institutional racism. Thus, all white individuals in our society are racists. Even if a white American is totally free from all conscious racial prejudices, he remains a racist, for he receives benefits distributed by a white racist society through its institutions. Our institutional and cultural processes are so arranged as to automatically benefit whites, just because they are white.

It is essential for whites to recognize that they receive most of these racist benefits automatically, unconsciously, and unintentionally. They do not have to consciously decide to oppress blacks and other Third World peoples in order to be racists. The societal arrangements of our culture, based on "assumed" white superiority, make it impossible for whites not to receive benefits. Many of these benefits are so deeply imbedded in the matrix of our white being, individually and collectively, that it is very difficult to become aware of them.[7] Whites must simply accept the fact that in our society they are racists.

Two terms frequently used to describe racism are *overt* and *covert*. Overt racism is manifested in openly bigoted behaviors: the murder of a black musician by whites in Royal Oak, Michigan, just because he was black and in an all-white community; the lynchings we have all read about; the deliberate denial of equal educational opportunity to black students in segregated schools; the refusal of some white teachers to teach in predominantly black schools. Covert racism is manifested in many subtle ways in our schools and other institutions. One good example is the use of the IQ test. It can be assumed that no one sat down and deliberately wrote a racist IQ test, but all IQ tests currently in use in this country are unconsciously racist. They were all standardized and normed on white middle class population groups; consequently, higher average scores are obtained by white middle class youngsters. Third World youngsters receive lower average scores and as a result are discriminated against. To say that current IQ tests are racist is not to propose that attempts to assess intellectual capacity be eliminated, or that those IQ tests that accurately assess white youth be abandoned. But white IQ tests should not be used to assess black or Third World youth, because such instruments do not accurately assess their potential. Accurate IQ tests can and must be developed to make such

assessments. The fact that current IQ tests also discriminate against economically disadvantaged *white* youngsters is often advanced as some sort of justification for their continued use, but it seems an obscure one at best. No matter what the socioeconomic level of a Third World person, the IQ tests currently used do not accurately assess his ability and therefore discriminate against him.

The results of IQ testing permeate the educational arena, resulting in institutional racism that is detrimental to Third World students' ability to survive in this society. Low teacher expectations are built not only on the obvious fact of a student's being a Third World person, but also on the inaccurate assessment of his IQ. Studies have shown that a teacher's low expectations cause him to behave in ways that in turn elicit poor student performance; this is the "self-fulfilling prophecy." The student fails to acquire needed skills in the three R's and scores low on achievement tests in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Achievement tests are also biased and inaccurate for Third World students. So institutional racism is reinforced in a continuous cycle: teacher expectations are reinforced by IQ and achievement test scores, which support racist counseling practices, which in turn support the use of racist curriculum materials—all reinforcing the superiority of a white self-concept that is detrimental to the self-concept of Third World people.

Other examples of conscious and unconscious racism begin to lead us to the differences between *individual, institutional,* and *cultural* racism. The effect of institutional racism on whites is often subtle. Since in our culture whiteness is considered to be the norm for humanness—to be white is to be right—whites have had no cause to become aware of their whiteness. A white professional really cannot know, for example, if he made it through college and into a professional role because he was extra bright and hardworking or largely because he was white. A larger percentage of white than of Third World individuals are enrolled in colleges in this country. One could explain this phenomenon by saying that whites must be genetically superior to Third World people (must have higher IQ's). Conversely, one could argue that since we have adequate scientific data to indicate that no race is biologically superior to any other, then the social systems of the culture must be rigged in some way to distribute the benefits differentially and preferentially to whites. The second explanation is supportable and probable; the first is not. So we must face the fact that a large part of our success in college and professional roles is due to our being white.

Cultural racism is not qualitatively different from institutional racism, but

it is quantitatively different. Cultural racism, because it permeates our national mythology and our individual self-concepts, is more difficult to deal with directly. Our national heroes, holidays, symbols, and myths are culturally racist. Adam and Eve were white, Jesus was white, angels are white, Santa Claus is white, all of fairyland is white, astronauts are white, presidents are white, Dick and Jane are white, the figure at the top of the evolution charts in biology textbooks is white. Most of our national holidays commemorate white heroes. Only in sports, and then only recently, have blacks won any real cultural acclaim. But think for a moment about the trophies we present to black athletes. Have you ever seen a trophy with other than a white figure on it?

School systems reinforce white images and maintain the "rightness of whiteness" syndrome through curriculum materials. In very subtle ways white aspirations, norms, and values are held out to all. Look, for example, at materials stressing the importance of eating three well balanced meals a day. The meals illustrated are white middle class meals, served as viewed appropriate by white standards and consisting of foods selected by whites as desirable. Black and Third World youngsters cannot identify with that image and can only regard their parents as failing them in some important way because they don't serve those same foods.

No one is suggesting that we get rid of white Santa Clauses, white historical heroes, white myths, or white fairy tales, for these are essential to the development of a healthy self-concept for white youth. What we must do, if we are to eliminate cultural racism, is to supply additional symbols, myths, heroes, and holidays with which black and Third World youngsters can identify.

But helping youngsters to accept themselves and others in the society is only one of the major goals of the schools. The other is to equip students with the necessary skills for survival. Too often these days we white teachers are so busy being humane and kind and loving that we neglect our responsibility to teach black and Third World students how to read, write, and compute. We often believe we are committed to helping these students, but we insist on helping out of our own white racist, elitist ideologies and ideals and reject the terms on which black and Third World parents want their children to be helped. They in turn reject us.

The . . . process . . . seems to me a classic sequence. White men and women who come in to teach and work alongside black and Spanish people in the small, committed . . . Free Schools . . . have got to exercise

their ideologies and their ideals . . . with great sophistication. It is a bitter pill for many young white people to accept, but in a large number of cases those rewards and skills and areas of expertise which many of us consider rotten and corrupt and hopelessly contaminated remain attractive and, in certain situations, irresistible to poor people. It is, moreover, often a case not of material greed but of material survival. There's not a lot a poor young kid fourteen years old can do in cities like New York or Boston if he cannot read and write enough to use the telephone directory . . . It is, too often, the rich white kids who speak three languages with native fluency, at the price of sixteen years of high-cost, rigorous and sequential education, who are the most determined that poor kids should make clay vases, weave Indian headbands, play with Polaroid cameras, climb over geodesic domes.

. . . Children who are psychologically shell-shocked in regard to reading are not "beautiful" and are not in the midst of some exquisite process of "organic" growth. They are . . ., in the most simple and honest terms, kids who just can't do a damn thing in the kinds of cities that we live in. . . . There is only one thing that is unpardonable. This is to sit and smile in some sort of cloud of mystical, wide-eyed, non-directive and inscrutable meditation –and do nothing.[8]

Pitfalls To Avoid

When we make attempts to reduce the dissonance between our ideals and our practices, we whites frequently fall into two particularly racist behaviors. One is a tendency to "blame the victim" for his circumstances, even after carefully analyzing these circumstances and agreeing that whites have systematically repressed and oppressed Third World peoples. A good example of this tendency can be found in the famous Kerner Report, which documented at length how certain elements in our schools, such as IQ tests, teacher expectations, counseling practices, curriculum materials, and tracking systems, are based upon white racist ideology and are the underlying causes of racial tensions. What solution did the report suggest? That we help the inner-city schools become like the suburban schools! We have instituted massive federally funded compensatory education programs designed to bring white values and norms to those whom we have caused to be "culturally deprived." Such solutions are contradictory and racist.

The second major pitfall is the whole concept of *helping* those whom we have systematically repressed. Helping implies that we whites are in control

of the resources and that we will decide who gets what and how much. We need to develop instead the concept of *sharing,* which implies that we all are going to somehow share control of our resources and see to it that they are used for guaranteeing mutual survival. Sharing is easy to talk about but much harder to put into practice; it usually reverts to helping. School systems have real trouble with sharing because it implies self-determination for all and because it means that we must address ourselves to the definition of standards.

What are those standards to be? Who sets them, and who has the power to implement them? Ideally, if we want to eliminate white racism, we must accept both differences and sameness. Racism has been accentuating sameness: "You must all be like me in order to make it." But accentuating differences also fails to eliminate racism. There is a limited set of resources to share. "We are all condemned to live together," in the words of Camus, and we must seek our common goals and strive to distribute resources in ways that guarantee the survival of all. Everyone involved in this process must share the definition of goals, the setting of standards, and the power to make and implement decisions.

As educators we often claim to be involved in decision-making processes. We serve on our schools' multiethnic human relations committees and work very hard for a year to make recommendations that will eliminate institutional racism. The recommendations are sound and represent the community of shared decision making and standard setting. What is frequently overlooked is the question of who has the power to implement our recommendations. In all likelihood the answer is the school board, through the school administrators. Unless the human relations committee has the power or access to the power, its recommendations will never be implemented. Once more we will have participated in a failure experience, and institutional racism will continue to function as usual.

Becoming Antiracist/Racists

As whites in a racist society we have only two behaviors to choose from vis-ã-vis the issue of racism. We can choose to be racist/racists—those who recognize the benefits accrued through being white and either consciously or unconsciously support institutional and cultural practices that perpetuate racism. Or we can choose to be antiracist/racists—those who recognize the illegitimate privileges obtained by whiteness but strive to remove these institutionally and culturally racist benefits even while still receiving them. There really is no place in between.

As whites we frequently find it difficult to recognize when we are behaving in racist ways. When we discriminate against a Third World person, whether consciously or unconsciously, we are racist. When we profit knowingly or unknowingly from the past or present racism of other whites, we are racist. When we belong to a group that discriminates against Third World people (e.g., the Elks, the local golf club), live in a segregated neighborhood, or work for a business that exploits or discriminates, we are being racist. When we avoid contacts or friendships because of race, when we use racist language, when we tell jokes based on racial stereotypes, we are being racist.

When we consciously do none of these things; when we are careful not to discriminate; when we behave in ways to minimize the risk of racist associations; when we refuse to profit directly from the racism practiced and institutionalized by others; when we quit any organization, neighborhood, or firm that exploits and discriminates; when we are color-blind in our social life—do we then become antiracist/racists? A racist/racist takes positive actions (consciously or unconsciously) that encourage, support, and perpetuate white racism. An antiracist/racist must take positive actions *against* white racism.

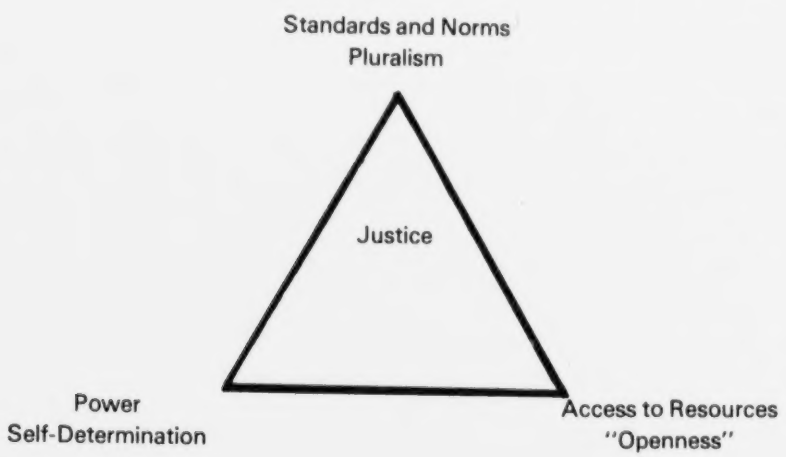
When we contribute money, time, and work to organizations that combat racism in housing, employment, recreation, organizations, civil rights, and schools, we are antiracist/racists. When we help to educate other whites on what white racism is and does, we are antiracist/racists. When we work to eliminate those political, economic, cultural, and educational conditions that encourage or perpetuate racism, we are antiracist/racists. When we actively seek out opportunities for social contact with Third World people and encourage others to do so, we are antiracist/racists. And every time we point out to other whites their use of verbal racial stereotypes, we help in a small way to combat racism.*

It's not hard to be racist/racists, especially when we have been born and raised in a society that fostered white racism and condones and supports it. It is very hard to be antiracist/racists—whites who work directly and actively against racism in all its forms. But if we as whites are serious, there is no alternative.

Robert Terry's graphic representation of antiracist/racist behaviors[9] appears on page 19. If we are truly committed to eliminating white racism and achieving the ideal of justice for all, we must work on each corner of

*The assessment checklists in Appendix A are a further aid in analyzing white behaviors. They can be used either individually or in a group setting to help whites examine the differences between the racist/racist behaviors and the antiracist/racist behaviors discussed above.

Terry's triangle simultaneously. Each contributes to the balance; we cannot accentuate one without upsetting the balance and perpetuating the racism we are trying to eliminate.



An example of dealing with the top of the triangle only would be the study committee that works very hard to redefine the standards and norms of a school system without having a link to the power to implement its recommendations. An example of working with the two lower corners only would be the case of a school closed by racial disorders for several days; the board says, "Get that school open, get the kids back in classes, and maintain order and quiet in the halls. We have all the money and power you need and access to any resources." Many crazy things get implemented in this situation that have little or nothing to do with the institution's racist norms and standards that caused the disturbance in the first place. When we react in such a situation we tend to perpetuate these racist norms and standards.

One final caution about actions and behaviors designed to eliminate racism: Whites must recognize the necessity of checking out their plans with Third World people. For example, this document was reviewed by Third World leadership before publication. The Third World individuals who read it were asked to determine whether or not the presentation was (a) free of overt and covert racism and (b) psychologically sound. Only those who have been oppressed and repressed by whites can ascertain whether a proposed action will really help eliminate racism or merely allow it to continue in a new form.

PART II

Antiracism Activities

Assuming that we are committed to becoming a part of the solution, we are faced with the problem of what to do and how to do it effectively; how to engage in activities with an optimal chance of success—activities that will not perpetuate racism and will really make a difference.

Any activity or program designed to eliminate racism implies the inevitability of change. Change occurs in our society at an ever increasing rate, threatening to carry us along with it unless we can get hold of the process and begin to *plan* change. Certain elements are necessary for planned change to occur. The first is vision. Vision requires the courage to dream, to believe in the possibility of success, to have an image of potentiality clearly in mind. The second element is hope. Without it we are left with despair and cannot energetically work together for change. Hope is often found in others' successes, which supply us with an image of potentiality and allow us to hope that we too can succeed. Third, and perhaps most important, is empowerment. Empowerment implies either the possession of power or access to power, coupled with clear action planning. Power makes the difference between a dream and a reality.

The variety of antiracism activities in which a local or state education association can become involved is limited only by the leaders' knowledge about alternatives and by the available resources. We present here some successful models for two kinds of programs—successful in that they have made a difference. The first program was designed and implemented originally as a curriculum intervention; the second is a workshop program implemented by the Human Relations Division of the Michigan Education Association in cooperation with the National Education Association and various locals.

A Curriculum on Racism

What began as one teacher's efforts to develop a series of seminars on civil rights has grown over the last eight years into a large and effective program to provide teachers with content and skills for working with the secondary school student in the classroom setting "to raise to consciousness within the student an awareness of white racism, to identify its forms within the culture, institutions and individual behaviors of our society, and to enable him to actively engage in social change (if he so desires)."[10] As presently constituted, New Perspectives on Race, Inc., (NPR) operates as a division of New Detroit, Inc., and functions at several levels. The primary focus is on providing training in the content and classroom application of a race relations curriculum, *Developing New Perspectives on Race*. This experientially based, multimedia curriculum consists of five units that can be used independently, presented in their entirety, or integrated into an existing curriculum. The curriculum was designed primarily for either all-white or integrated secondary schools, but it is adaptable to teacher training, in-service days, adult education seminars, and university courses on race relations. An adaptation of the curriculum for use at the elementary level is being prepared.

The curriculum has been used as a base to develop workshop designs for a wide variety of education groups, including the Michigan Education Association, the Illinois Education Association, and numerous school systems in Michigan. Other major institutions, including the U.S. Navy, various community mental health services, and the YWCA, have also sought NPR help in designing and implementing programs.

NPR's training program consists of five sessions designed to present the content and affective dimensions of the curriculum to social studies, history, religion, sociology, adult education, in-service, and teacher training personnel who wish in turn to present the nature and causes of racial conflicts to their students and/or colleagues. The trainees experience a wide variety of classroom approaches, including simulations, creative innovation sessions, mini-lectures, various group dynamics techniques, and the latest audiovisual materials pertaining to race relations.

The curriculum consists of five units:

I. *Individual Awareness* focuses on the historical, psychological, and sociological aspects of being white, black, Chicano, First American, or whatever in our white racist society and is based on the assumption that people cannot understand the social realities of racism,

much less internalize the individual implications of those realities, unless they are fully and consciously aware of their own personal racial identity.

II. *Prejudice and Racism* focuses on the differences between prejudice and racism and on the particular nature of white racism in America. The unit is based on the premise that in order to understand the causes of racism one must be able to identify both racial prejudice and the manifestations of racism. The unit delineates the various forms of racism, examines its ideology and history, and explores the biology of race.

III. *Institutional Racism* focuses on the forms of institutional racism and the variety of social manifestations of racism. It is based on the belief that to eliminate one's own racist behaviors one must first come to understand the manifestations of institutional racism by examining in depth the institutions to which he or she belongs.

IV. *Third World Peoples* focuses on the histories and contemporary cultures of Third World peoples and is based on the belief that there is value in acquainting students with content materials about these histories and cultures. It examines the power relationships that perpetuate racism in our culture, the less than honest presentations in current curriculum materials, the international faces of racism, and the importance of having the guidance of Third World individuals to prevent falling into a white ethnocentric viewpoint.

V. *Contemporary America* explores various aspects of contemporary America that have not been presented in the other units: poverty, the variety of American cultural subgroups, and the different value positions in American society. The unit is based on the realization that whites must understand their own cultural realities in order to effect change.

The preceding explanation, intended to provide an overview of what goes into curriculum designed to deal with white racism, is not meant to serve as the basis for designing such a curriculum. Copies of this particular curriculum are distributed only to those persons who have participated in the training program. New Perspectives on Race, Inc., 10600 Puritan, Detroit, Michigan 48238, is available to serve as a resource for local associations or individual teachers.

A Workshop Design for Racism

The following pages describe in some detail the design and rationale for a different kind of racism workshop for teachers. The design was developed cooperatively with the Michigan Education Association's Office of Human Relations, NEA Teacher Rights, and New Perspectives on Race; NPR conducted the two-phase workshop.

Phase I, which took place in November 1971, was designed to create an awareness of individual and institutional racism in the education system. Phase II (in March 1972) was designed to provide participants with a follow-up experience and to help them develop action plans for implementing change in their back-home settings. The four-month interval between the phases gave participants time to internalize their new racial awareness and to assess their own schools in light of their new knowledge and consciousness.

The details about the nuts and bolts issues of preworkshop planning, participant invitations, site selection, and budget are not included in this report. Such matters are vital to the success of any workshop or conference, but much information on them is already available (see bibliography), and so is much skilled professional help. Consequently, this presentation will deal only with goals and objectives, with the specific workshop activities and the reasons for including them.

Keep in mind that the design that follows is merely an example of one successful workshop. To attempt to replicate this exact design in your own situation is not recommended. In designing any such workshop, be sure that skilled training personnel share the responsibility with representative participants, so that the workshop will "fit" local needs and expectations.

Do not assume that the order in which the exercises are presented is unchangeable. Any one of the exercises could also be used independently of the others. For example, the film could be used in many different settings: a class of students, a church group, a committee or representative assembly meeting of a local association.

Appendix B offers suggestions for leading general group discussions and describes the techniques (fishbowling, role playing, etc.) used in the exercises. Most of the exercises can be successfully managed by teachers without advanced training in group dynamics. Those that cannot are marked with an asterisk (*). **It would be unwise to attempt to use these particular exercises without the help of a skilled group leader.** More detailed explanations of these exercises are available from NPR to those providing evidence of adequate training.

The following list of critical concepts is for the guidance of anyone using any of the exercises suggested. They are intended to alert the user to some of the classic traps whites can fall into when attempting to deal actively with white racism.

1. Third World histories and cultures are not usually presented with honesty in our educational processes, but rather are portrayed from a white ethnocentric viewpoint (e.g., the term *minority groups* is used in spite of the reality that *whites* are in the minority internationally).

2. White racism exists because of the power historically possessed by whites, which has enabled them to exercise the control necessary to dominate the institutions and cultures of our society. Albert Memmi cites the following conditions necessary for a racist society:
   a. Oppressed should usually feel psychologically and culturally inferior.
   b. Oppressors should usually feel superior.
   c. All citizens should accept the cultural standards of the oppressors.
   d. Oppressors should usually fear the oppressed.
   e. Oppressors should usually show ability to practice genocide against the oppressed.[11]

3. White racism is not an independent factor but is interrelated with all aspects of our society and most particularly with the political and economic sectors.

4. White racism is operative not only internally in the United States, but also in our international relationships, resulting in the exploitation of all Third World peoples.

5. These exercises, like all programs designed by whites to eradicate racism, should be implemented with the guidance of Third World people, who should be directly involved whenever possible. Because of conscious and unconscious psychological and sociological involvement in America's racist mythologies, all-white groups could actually reinforce the stereotypes they are attempting to identify, understand, and remove. It is important that Third World peoples not be viewed as a homogeneous unit without differences.

6. The material presented in this document is limited in scope and should not be considered a substitute for more in-depth study of this subject matter, but it can provide a base on which to develop sessions on

racism awareness. Care should be taken to prevent such sessions from becoming too divorced from the realities of racism.

7. Selections from various media are included. The leader should be familiar with whatever he/she selects and should choose whatever techniques will best facilitate the group's internalization of the content.

8. To repeat, the leader should be constantly aware of the tendency to interpret the materials from a white ethnocentric viewpoint. To do so would result in a reinforcement of such viewpoints in the group members.

PHASE I

Participants: Fifty-one self-selected teachers participated in the workshop. They were aware that the workshop was designed to help participants become more familiar with white racism. They came in teams of three to eight from a wide variety of Michigan locals. The request for teams was made because of the importance of having support groups in the back-home setting, both to maintain the heightened awareness and to provide a cadre of committed people to implement change activities.

Goal: To create an awareness of individual and institutional racism within the education environment.

Objectives:
1. To distinguish between prejudice and racism.
2. To focus on the historical, psychological, and social aspects of whiteness in America.
3. To examine the various forms of institutional racism in our society.

Activities: DAY ONE

Exercise I

Title: Who Am I? What Resources Do I Bring? What Are My Expectations?

Objective: To provide a means for participants to share information about themselves and to learn about each other.

Rationale: Since most people in the group are strangers, this activity creates a feeling of having data about others in the group and provides a quick way to get acquainted.

Format: Polaroid pictures of each participant are taken on arrival. Each participant answers the three title questions on a large sheet of newsprint to which his picture is attached. The sheets are posted around the room, and participants mill about to read them.

Time: Approximately one hour.

Group Size: Any number.

Exercise II

Title: Expectation Sharing

Objective: To share staff's and participants' expectations, needs, and goals for the workshop; to reach agreement on design elements and mutual responsibilities.

Rationale: When an openly negotiated contract between staff and participants has been reached, the workshop has a much greater chance of success. Negotiating a contract also models new behaviors in the area of shared power and decision making.

Format: Fishbowl discussion with staff in center circle and participants in outer circle. Staff members discuss their needs, goals, and expectations among themselves. Then participants take the inner circle and share the same information. Finally staff return to center to clarify expectations with participants and to indicate the specifics of the design.

Time: Approximately two hours.

Group Size: Any number.

DAY TWO

Exercise I

Title: Whiteness Collage

Objective: To allow individual participants to express in a nonverbal medium what whiteness means to them.

Rationale: Expressing unexplored and very deep feelings is facilitated by using a nonverbal medium. Others' impressions of an individual's effort often provide insights into feelings he expressed but was not conscious of having.

Format:
1. Participants are asked to construct a collage on the theme of "whiteness" by pasting together words and pictures from magazines to form a composite picture. Collages are posted.
2. Participants in small groups share reactions to each other's collages; then each creator explains what he was trying to express.
3. Staff lead small groups in discussion of similarities and differences among participants' perceptions of whiteness.

Time: Two to three hours.

Group Size: Any number. Keep in mind that the ratio of participants to leaders should be no larger than about 15 to 1.

Exercise II

Title: Racist Ad Debate

Objective: To explore the concept of institutional racism through the use of advertisements selected from popular magazines.

Rationale: Many elements in the perpetuation of white racism can be found in media advertisements. Examining sample advertisements for racist implications increases the participants' awareness of the subtle cultural and institutional effects of the "rightness of whiteness" syndrome and helps them realize the difficulty of conveying this kind of information to others.

Format:
1. Two teams of five to eight participants are formed and given an advertisement to analyze for racism. One team will defend the ad while the other will attack the ad's racism. The remaining participants will form an observation team.
2. The two teams are given about fifteen minutes to prepare a debate. The observers spend this time developing criteria to use in judging the behaviors of the debaters.
3. The debate is held, and the team judged to be most plausible and convincing wins.
4. Staff lead total group discussion focusing on behavioral manifestations of racism.

Time: Approximately two hours.

Group Size: Up to about thirty participants. Can be used with as few as ten.

Exercise III

Title: *Serfdom

Objective: To allow participants to experience behaviorally the reality of the role of class and caste in our society.

Rationale: This exercise is designed to demonstrate the imposition of roles and goals on individuals in groups and to elicit individual behavioral responses to power relationships. If people can experience these relationships behaviorally in a controlled environment, they can become more aware of both their own individual racist behaviors and the manifestations of racism at the institutional level.

Format: Since simulations are highly complex replications of selected reality segments, requiring a highly skilled and experienced leader, the specific format is not included here.

Time: Minimum of three hours.

Group Size: Minimum of 20 people. The more the merrier!

DAY THREE

Exercise I

Title: Differences Between Racial Prejudice and Racism; Manifestations of Racism in the Schools

Objective: To provide participants with a clear and concise set of definitions and concepts in the area of race relations; to build concepts of how schools manifest the various forms of racism. schools manifest the various forms of racism.

Rationale: Participants usually have no common meaning base on which to distinguish racial prejudice from racism and its various forms and manifestations in our society. This exercise has been found useful in providing a sound cognitive base, supplying new information, and helping participants air their differences of opinion.

Format:

1. Various definitions of racial prejudice and racism are distributed to participants. They are asked to read them and then discuss them in small groups. Staff members serve as discussion facilitators.
2. One staff member gives a mini-lecture somewhat similar in content to Part I of this document.

3. A total group discussion is held to answer questions about the lecture and to clear up uncertainties.

Time: Approximately two hours.

Group Size: Any number.

Exercise II

Title: *The Friendly Game* (a film)

Objective: To allow participants to examine an intense interaction between a white person and a black person and to express their feelings and thoughts about it.

Rationale: Participants need to experience the reality and power of racial feelings and to examine both the subtle and the more intense manifestations of institutional and cultural racism.

Format:

1. Film is viewed with no introduction.
2. While sitting as a total group, participants are each given a small index card and asked to write down any reactions to or questions about the film.
3. Participants in subgroups of five to seven pool their cards. Each individual draws a card and reads it aloud. There is no discussion until all cards have been read.
4. The small groups discuss anything they want to about the film.
5. Each small group shares a brief summary of its discussion with total group. Different perceptions are made obvious.
6. The film is viewed again, participants being more aware this time of both verbal and nonverbal behaviors.
7. Small groups discuss the second viewing and any new insights.

Time: Approximately two hours.

Group Size: Equally effective with large and small groups.

Exercise III

Title: *The Seven-Minute Day

Objective: To provide an opportunity for participants to experience their new racial identity awareness and to attempt some new behaviors in a situation designed to simulate the school setting.

Rationale: Same as for the serfdom simulation exercise. This exercise presents the additional opportunity to try out new antiracist/

racist behaviors in a controlled but real situation and to get feedback on their effectiveness.

Format:
1. Simulation is explained; roles are assigned.
2. Staff observes and records behavior.
3. Role groups discuss simulation experience.
4. Total group discussion.

Time: Minimum of three hours.

Group Size: Minimum of 20. The larger the group, the more effective the simulation, to a maximum of about one hundred.

Exercise IV

Title: Data Collection

Objectives: To provide participants with a survey instrument to assess racism in their own schools; to set personal goals.

Rationale: This activity provides a behavioral and attitudinal link between Phase I and Phase II of the workshop. Participants function as small teams in a worthwhile activity that will contribute to the success of Phase II.

Format:
1. Sample inventories are distributed and discussed.
2. Plans for conducting surveys back home are developed by each team.

Group Size: Any number. If total group is large, work in small groups of five to ten.

Exercise V

Exercise V was the filling out of a workshop evaluation instrument.

PHASE II

Participants: Only those who had participated in Phase I.

Goal: To have each team of participants leave the workshop with a completely developed action plan designed to implement change in their back-home school system.

Objectives:

1. To build on the awareness developed in Phase I.
2. To provide cognitive input about the theory of planned change and to present a working model of planned change.
3. To develop and select appropriate strategies and tactics to implement change.
4. To create a step-by-step action plan to implement a change project back home.

Activities:

Exercise I

Title: Where Are We Now? What Do We Need To Move On?

Objectives: To get feedback from participants on what had happened since the last workshop, what projects they had undertaken, what difficulties they had encountered, what help they now needed.

Rationale: Sharing back-home experiences resulting from the heightened awareness developed in Phase I enables participants to compare the commonalities and differences in their developing racial identities. The feeling of shared experience is the foundation of any team-building effort.

Format:

1. Participants responded individually in writing to the following questions:
   a. What was your personal objective at the end of Phase I?
   b. What have you done in relation to your selected change project and/or your personal objective?
   c. Have you done as much as you planned to do? If not, why not?
   d. What kinds of assistance do you feel you need?
2. Participants formed small groups to share responses. Each group selected a representative for large-group fishbowl discussion.
3. Representatives shared discussion in fishbowl.

Group Size: Any number.

Observation: In the small group discussions, participants seemed serious and anxious to share their experiences with one another—their victories as well as their defeats. Some reported highly individual objectives, such as sharing their new concepts about racism with their peers and students, trying to involve others to create an expanded awareness, or continuing to develop their own personal racial identities through observation and interaction. Others reported group efforts designed to complete the survey suggested at the end of Phase I, to plan and implement Racism Awareness Programs for in-service days, or to examine current curriculum materials for racist items.

Many shared difficulties they had encountered: obstructive tactics by administrators, apparent apathy among peers. One participant noted that because he had been a team of one, his objective had been to seek out personal support. He had begun by talking about his students' needs to other teachers; he found some who were interested in his attitudes and was able to form a support group. Another male participant, young and obviously nervous, said, "Boy, did I get shot down! No one *really* cared the way I did." An older woman stated emphatically, "It's too bad all teachers can't get high on awareness a couple of times a year!" One intense young long-haired man said that the experience had had a major effect on his teaching. He had grown increasingly uncomfortable with his black students because he was so painfully aware of being part of the problem. "I used to be color-blind, I thought, and now I cannot be. Am I more of a racist now?" During the fishbowl discussion a young black teacher remarked, "My tone is pessimistic at this point. Our plans look beautiful on paper, but the minute we add people there is an immediate breakdown. The effect personally is devastating!"

Participants identified the following needs: techniques and resources for setting up in-service workshops such as Phase I in their own schools; trained staff to conduct workshops; ways to involve more people; ways to transfer attitude changes into behavior changes; ways to create an atmosphere in which awareness can be nurtured; ways to interpret data from survey; more information on group dynamics techniques; less fear and caution on the part of administrators, or tactics to overcome them; ways to get access to power; more time, more people; more information about available resources; ways to approach peers and superiors so they aren't immediately turned off.

Exercise II

Title: Staff Fishbowl

Objective: To react to participants' descriptions of where they were now, to define and clarify needs expressed, to state goals for workshop.

Rationale: Staff must fully understand needs of participants in order to design activities that will be of the greatest possible help.

Format: Staff sat in inner circle and openly shared their understandings of participants' expressed needs. An open chair was left for participants who wished to question any staff person or clarify any point.

Group Size: Any number.

Observation: Staff members shared their own feelings and ideas about activities to meet the needs of the participants. Participants seemed to be very attentive to the free-flowing discussion, and particularly so when staff shared their experiences in working on their own awareness. "One of my goals is to continue my own in-depth awareness. I never feel like a finished product, but I do feel like a growing one." "I too have faced enormous obstacles in collecting needed information from outside the system agencies. It has helped me to fantasize what their particular problems may be—seems to open up new alternatives." "I'm really feeling—sharing—the frustration expressed by those who tried to make change." "Wow! Folks have really been into a continual struggle, and that makes me feel less alone in my own—you've all been the same places I have." "I'm suddenly aware of how far I've still got to go. Good! It's good to be growing." "Seems to me we must begin to look squarely at the role of the white teacher and white students when we talk about action plans!" "The issue isn't that the system corrupts us—it's that we must devise ways to deal with the system the way it operates." "We'll have to begin to explore together in the next two days to plug in specific facts and resources to do the kinds of things you want to do." "We must not lose sight of the fact that we can all serve as resources to one another." "We will try to help folks build systems to provide support to help us all over those moments of frustration and despair." "We can help you explore strategies and give you skills to eliminate or circumvent roadblocks." "We must continue to build in accountability and continue to explore ways to be aware of the consequences of our decisions." "We need to provide some experiences in dealing with conflict, particularly in terms of power

structures." A participant who took the open chair seemed to sum it all up: "We need more specific help from staff in developing concrete strategies and ideas, now that we're getting ourselves together."

Exercise III

Title: New Behaviors for Whites

Objective: To delineate some specific behavioral concepts for whites who want to begin to function as change agents in antiracist/racist ways.

Rationale: Many participants had grown painfully aware of the lack of congruence between their attitudes and their behaviors. Others were asking for some more cognitive input in terms of effective change strategies and how to plan them.

Format: Lecture on points to consider in new white behaviors, focusing on five major themes:

1. The necessity of societal analysis: how do politics, economics, education, and other institutions interact to produce racism?
2. The dynamics of the relationships between national and international racism.
3. The need for action models to eliminate back-home racism; the need for continual self-analysis.
4. The necessity of believing that change is possible while still recognizing the contradictions imposed by the gap between our ideals and our actions.
5. The necessity of having Third World people assess actions, projects, and plans, to build in accountability and support.

Each participant was asked to respond in writing to four questions:

1. What are your feelings right now?
2. What does the lecture say to you about all of your everyday back-home relationships?
3. How does this information relate to your project?
4. How has what you've been doing or planning to do been assessed for consequences?

Participants formed triads to share their responses and to clarify their own positions. Triads then combined into groups of six to share and put on newsprint a summary of their re-

sponses. The entire community milled about to read the summaries.

Group Size: Any number.

Observation: Most participants appeared to get very engrossed in answering the four questions, and many conveyed a sense of really struggling to get into themselves. Others appeared to be trying to find words that would make them look good to their peers. A few finished quickly; perhaps they were more in touch with their feelings, perhaps they only did a superficial job, perhaps they were tired. One young white male teacher expressed his deep despair over his personal commitment and his seeming failure: "Why do we always lose?" The other members of his triad were supportive but didn't accept his self-imposed verdict of failure and led him to see that he had had some victories after all.

Hope seemed alive in other triads. The members of one energetically discussed how they could all become bigger winners. In one group of six there was real conflict and confrontation as the members struggled with powerful feelings of anger at those who had taught them to be racist and at themselves for continuing old racist behaviors. There seemed to be a growing awareness of the depth of their own prejudice: "I find that I always assume that all Third World people are economically and culturally deprived. Ugh! What a horrible and dehumanizing assumption." One group agreed that the activity had made them much more clearly aware of being part of the problem, and they were determined to change.

The newsprint sheets were filled with humor, bitterness, despair, hope, determination: "May I know my contradictions, may I accept me/you/us?" "Now that awareness is raised, where do we go from here?" "When we, as individuals, are sincerely interested, involved, and committed to a fair and better society, we then and then only will be considered civilized." "What do WE do about US?" "The problem is that we are unwilling to take the risks necessary to bring about change. Is the risk as great as we think it is or do we choose to cop out?" "FRUSTRATION!" "Can I, as a person, deal? Where is my struggle? How and where do I get support? How do I ever get comfortable with the knowledge that I am a racist?" "The international situation makes me more aware of the urgency for change." "In the end, if I fail, Walt, Tom, Bill, Cam, and George will make it. I must go on because they need me." "We, the majority, must be sensitive to and accountable to the minority."

Exercise IV

Title: *Seven-Minute Day (adaptation)

Objective: To provide an opportunity for participants to reexperience the simulation experienced in Phase I, with emphasis on trying out new behaviors and using new strategies and tactics.

Rationale: Participants benefit from assessing their own efforts at behaving in new ways in a reality-based situation and from receiving immediate feedback on the effectiveness of these new behaviors.

Format: Same as in Phase I (see pages 30-31).

Group Size: Minimum 20, maximum 100.

Observation: The simulation activity was noisy, energetic, chaotic, and thoroughly real. Groups quickly got into their roles and began to function. Staff made detailed behavioral observations and were able to give quite complete feedback to both role groups and individuals. Most of the feedback indicated that participants had failed to develop any overall strategies and tactics or to establish collaborative relationships to win their battle; even though they claimed victory, there had been none. While they were all being very active and enthusiastic and sincere, the "establishment" had gone right ahead with business as usual, and despite a lot of action no substantive change had occurred. It was a very powerful learning experience for participants, who saw clearly that while their awareness had made them more perceptive and involved, their individual growth, as evidenced by much new behavior, was not very effective in changing institutional racism.

At the party after the session, groups had deep discussions about their insights and were considering what more effective alternative actions might have been.

Exercise V

Title: Change Theory and Models

Objectives: To provide cognitive input on the theoretical dimensions of planned change and to present a working planned change model.

Rationale: If participants are to function effectively as change agents in a school system, they must understand certain essential concepts. In addition, a detailed step-by-step model of change is very useful in developing action plans.

Format: Lecture followed by small group discussions.
Group Size: Any number. Small groups should have five to ten members.
Observation: This was an input session, and participants found the lecture helpful. Small groups requested staff help frequently to clarify or expand on particular points.

Exercise VI

Title: Force Field Analysis
Objective: To provide a structural framework for the process of analyzing a problem, setting change goals, and developing an action plan.
Rationale: Force field analysis has proved to provide help in recognizing the critical differences between a problem and a solution, in stating goals clearly, and in appraising the reality of the situation in terms of helping and hindering forces.
Format: Lecture and worksheets.
Group Size: Any number.
Observation: Participants worked in their back-home teams. Their level of commitment and involvement was very high. Judging from the constant demands for staff help and the amount of newsprint used, teams found this time well spent. Staff were able to meet specific needs as consultants; much information about resources and skills was requested and obtained.

Exercise VII

Title: Some More Action Tools
Objective: To provide two more tools to help participants refine the details and assess the consequences of their action plans.
Rationale:
1. Building time schedules for complex plans is a difficult procedure at best, but a crucial one if plans are to be implemented. The Gantt chart (time, cost, and personnel sequence) presents a framework for building time schedules.
2. Assessing consequences of plans is a very important and frequently overlooked area of planning. The decision tree (alternative strategies) format presents one structural framework that is helpful. It also helps planners to anticipate

possible roadblocks and problems and to develop alternative strategies to surmount them.

Format: Lecture; total group discussion; use of tools by back-home teams.

Group Size: Any number, but work groups should be small (five to ten).

Observation: Participants found the Gantt chart and the decision tree very useful. They were particularly enthusiastic about the decision tree, and their plans benefitted greatly from its use. Participants worked for quite a long while after the session was officially over, looking tired and drawn but determined to complete their plans.

Exercise VIII

Title: Work Session/Feedback Session

Objective: To give teams an opportunity to finish their plans and then get written feedback from other participants and staff.

Rationale: Participants should leave with the best possible plan firmly in mind, and with a community accountability and support system fully developed.

Group Size: Any number.

APPENDIX A

Racial Checklists and Inventories

Before using any of these checklists, please be familiar with the "critical concepts" listed on pages 25 and 26.

Assessment Checklist for White Racism*

Each of us has tried to make sense out of the relationship between races, the evolving black consciousness, and the nature of whiteness. The 30 statements below are examples of attempts to interpret the racial scene. Check off those you have felt, believed, or voiced during your growing awareness of racial prejudice and white racism.

____ 1. What do they want?

____ 2. I don't understand what you people are saying.

____ 3. On the whole, the educated, the upper classes, the emotionally mature, and the deeply religious are much less racist.

____ 4. Other ethnic groups had to struggle; why is this one so different?

____ 5. Angry blacks make me feel so helpless.

____ 6. Racism exists only where minorities exist.

____ 7. (To an Afro-American) No matter what I say, it doesn't suit you.

____ 8. If you could just get people feeling good about themselves, there would be much less racism.

*Most of these items were adapted from those suggested by Gerry Weinstein, Leonard Smith, and Jim Edler at the University of Massachusetts.

____ 9. Black power means violence.

____ 10. I'm not a racist, but when it comes right down to it, I wouldn't marry a black person.

____ 11. I should not be held responsible for the actions of my ancestors.

____ 12. I'm with them up to the point where they (want to) break the law.

____ 13. These days, whenever a black man sneezes, 37 white people rush up to wipe his nose.

____ 14. Minority members must be present in order for whites to make progress.

____ 15. How can I be pro-black without being antiwhite?

____ 16. I do not personally have responsibility for the policies of racist institutions.

____ 17. The most important things black people need are education and the vote.

____ 18. People shouldn't have to integrate if they don't want to.

____ 19. Love cannot be legislated.

____ 20. What are we going to do to alleviate the black problem?

____ 21. Every person should be judged solely on his accomplishments, regardless of his race.

____ 22. Because of the civil rights legislation of the past 17 years, blacks have greater responsibility to exploit the opportunities made available to them.

____ 23. We (whites) should get a little more appreciation for what we are doing to help.

____ 24. (To a black person) I've gotten to know you so well now that I just don't see you as black anymore.

____ 25. I'm a friend of the blacks.

____ 26. They don't want us to deal with their problems.

____ 27. Every time I express my opinion to a black person I get put down.

____ 28. On the basis of statistics it's true that there is a higher crime rate in the ghetto.

____ 29. Black people are more aware of their feelings.

____ 30. In many situations, black people are paranoid and oversensitive; they read more into the situation than is really there.

Inventory of Racial Experience

The following 11 experiences are frequent among whites, although the specific events from which they arise are quite idiosyncratic. Please choose the *one* that comes closest to your current perspective. Try to remember a specific recent event that illustrates this perspective . . . the day, place, and circumstances. Ask yourself the following questions:

What led up to the situation?
What happened? What did I think, feel, do, and say?
What, if anything, am I doing now about this perspective?
What would I want to do about this perspective?

1. Treating blacks differently from whites.
2. Learning that whites created and maintained slavery.
3. Becoming more aware of discrimination against blacks.
4. Feeling more fortunate than, superior to, or better than blacks.
5. Trying consciously to be especially good, kind, helpful, or loving to blacks.
6. Wanting to prove that you really are equal to or the same as blacks.
7. Being angry at other whites for what they were doing to blacks.
8. Admiring blacks and wishing that you or whites were more like them in some specific way(s).
9. Feeling helpless as an individual to do anything truly useful in changing white racism.

10. Deciding to actively resist those social, political, and/or economic forces that cause feelings of worthlessness and subjugate black people.
11. Wanting to get over feelings of guilt and shame about being subconsciously racist.

Inventory of Personal Levels of Activity*

Check off each statement below that is true for you now or has been within the last year. "True" means that you can recall a specific action or event that is evidence of your commitment to combat racism in the way suggested.

_____ 1. I have aggressively sought out more information in an effort to enhance my own awareness and understanding of racism (talking with others, reading, listening).

_____ 2. I have spent time recently in looking at my own attitudes and behavior as they contribute to or combat racism around me.

_____ 3. I have reevaluated my use of terms or phrases that may be perceived as degrading or hurtful to others.

_____ 4. I have openly disagreed with a racist comment, joke, or action by someone around me.

_____ 5. I have made a personal contract with myself to take a positive stand, even at some possible risk, when the chance occurs.

_____ 6. I have become increasingly aware of racist TV programs, advertising, and news broadcasts, and I have complained to those responsible.

_____ 7. I have realized that white Americans are trapped by their own schools, homes, media, government, etc., even when they choose not to be racists.

* These statements were suggested by James Edler, University of Massachusetts

_____ 8. I have taken steps to implement discussions with friends, colleagues, social clubs, or church groups, aimed at understanding racism.

_____ 9. I have been investigating political candidates at all levels in terms of their stance and activity against racist government practices.

_____ 10. I have investigated local school curricula in terms of their treatment of the issue of racism (also textbooks, assemblies, faculty, staff, administration).

_____ 11. I have contributed time and/or money to an agency, fund, or program that actively confronts the problems of racism.

_____ 12. My buying habits support nonracist shops, companies, and personnel.

_____ 13. My school or other place of employment is a target for my educational efforts in responding to racism.

_____ 14. I have become seriously dissatisfied with my own level of activity in combatting racism.

APPENDIX B

Group Dynamics Tools

Suggestions for General Group Discussion

1. The participants should be aware of the goals for the session and should be encouraged to share attitudes, feelings, and ideas regarding the discussion topic. A wide variety of attitudes, feelings, and ideas will be expressed; differences should be accepted as legitimate and valuable.

2. The leader should be familiar with the types of questions he can raise and the functions of each.
   a. *Fact-seeking questions* provide information the participants do not presently have. Examples: "What are three examples of educational racism?" "Define paternalism."
   b. *Relationship questions* enable participants to see relationships by contrasting, comparing, and correlating data. Examples: "What are the differences between conservatives, radicals, and liberals?" "Describe the effects of institutional racism on Third World peoples and whites. How are the effects similar and how are they different?"
   c. *Summary questions* enable participants to make inferences and understand the "why" of relationships. Examples: "Are whites usually aware of their whiteness? Why?" "Why are standard intelligence tests racist?" "What does it mean to say that whites are the cause of racial inequality in America?"
   d. *Seeking questions* encourage participants to seek out and simulate what they feel could be and allow them to be self-determining. Examples: "How do you feel racism should be fought?" "If you were creating an antiracist society, what would it look like?"

3. Participants should be aware of the elements of the group process and should understand the meaning of "shared leadership." Such awareness can be developed through the use of specific exercises.
4. As a leader one should function as a resource person and a facilitator of group process.

Group Techniques

1. Role Playing
   a. A role-playing participant steps out of character and assumes the role of someone else in a defined situation the outcome of which is not preplanned. The effect of each role player's behavior in that situation should be analyzed by players and observers.
   b. Participants should have time to plan for their roles.
   c. Participation should be voluntary.
   d. Volunteers should assume their roles in front of the group. De-roling occurs when the volunteers receive applause, rejoin their group, remove their name tags, and assume behaviors of their own identity.
   e. Role playing should continue only as long as needed to establish the situation and illustrate the behaviors that are to be analyzed by participants and observers.
   f. All group members should share their feelings and observations with each other.
2. Fishbowling
   a. A portion of the group sits in the front or middle of the room and discusses a specific topic while the rest of the group observes and listens silently. The discussion should have a time limit.
   b. At the end of the time period all group members analyze and evaluate the discussion.
   c. If desired, the process can be repeated with another portion of the group.
3. Brainstorming
   a. This technique is used to generate a quantity of ideas on a specific topic within a given time limit, usually five to ten minutes.
   b. All group members are challenged to think of as many ideas as possible. As fast as ideas are voiced, they are recorded by the leader *without comment by any members of the group.*

c. At the end of the time period, the group goes back over the ideas to sort them and decide which are the most useful.

4. Simulations
   a. A simulation is a model of reality focusing on particular aspects in order to bring about new insights. Simulations may take the form of games or other activities that imitate a real situation.
   b. Simulations usually enable the participants to experience both cognitively and affectively the interrelatedness of the social, economic, political, cultural, and interpersonal aspects of the social reality simulated.
   c. Simulations can be very structured and complicated or very informal, depending upon the intent of the designers.
   d. Simulations should *always* be led by someone who has experienced them before and understands their dynamics and their underlying goals. Simulations can easily lead to the reinforcement of existing stereotypes and mythologies if not handled carefully.

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[10]Bidol, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

[11]Memmi, Albert. *Colonizer and the Colonized*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1965. pp. 79-89.

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